20: Hart OA14 Central Bisayan OA14

241, 777, 787, 789, 796

[For discussions of agricultural ceremonies, and of associated magical concepts, see category 241, pp. 280-284 (palio), p. 285 (buhatan), pp. 294-299 (loto), pp. 394-396 (camote-planting lihi), pp. 399-400 (cassava-planting lihi); category 243, pp. 304-306 (rice-planting lihi), p. 308 (rice-transplanting lihi), pp. 313-316 (rice-harvesting lihi), pp. 334-337 (corn-planting lihi), pp. 339-340 (protective charms for cornfields), pp. 342-359 (dulot), pp. 359-361 (other practices associated with corn agriculture); category 245, pp. 377-385 (guhang lihi), p. 404 (coconut-planting lihi). --Analyst]

113, 241, 777, 787, 789, 796 Central Bisayan OA14

[For discussions of agricultural ceremonies, and of associated magical concepts, see 20: Hart, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 280-284 (palio), p. 285 (buhatan), pp. 294-299 (loto), pp. 394-396 (camote-planting lihi), pp. 399-400 (cassava-planting lihi), pp. 304-306 (rice-planting lihi), p. 308 (rice-transplanting lihi), pp. 313-316 (rice-harvesting lihi), pp. 334-337 (corn-planting lihi), pp. 339-340 (protective charms for cornfields), pp. 342-359 (dulot), pp. 359-361 (other practices associated with corn agriculture), pp. 377-385 (guhang lihi), p. 404 (coconut-planting lihi). --Analyst]

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In case Moros were sighted the watcher would sound the alarm by using a big sea shell called Budyong. The sound of this shell could be heard in all parts of Kalumpang. The people in those days were always ready to flee when the Budyong was heard. They always had their carabaos saddled and their belongings packed so, at any moment, when the Moros came, they could quickly escape to the mountains with their belongings and carabaos.

175*

During this period another Moro captive from the locality escaped his wardens. Once home he told how the Moros made him fight "like a cock in bulangan (cockpit) with other Moros." He was finally freed by his captors because he won so many of his fights.

175*
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Another stone watch tower was built at Baybay, at the mouth of the Siaton River. One old informant of Naga remembered stories from his childhood about the Moros.

> The watcher would blow his Budyong when he saw Moro boats. The people, on hearing the sound, would get their spears and bows and arrows and go to the beach to meet the Moros...I once heard a story about the Moros when I was a small boy. This was before the tower was built at Baybay and watchers posted at the beach. Then the Moros could land freely there. There was a woman who lived near the tower. One day she was weaving abaca unaware that Moros were landing at the beach. In those days whenever a toko [large house lizard] made a noise, we would ask them: 'Will it rain today: Will it not rain today, etc.' Whatever we said when the toko made its last noise was supposed to come true. This day the woman asked a noisy toko: 'Will the Moros come today: Will the Moros not come today, etc.' The toko stopped making noise on the question: 'Will the Moros come today.' The woman then looked into the silong [the space under the raised house] and saw the Moros.
>
> The Moros were surprised that this woman knew they were coming and asked her how she knew. She told them about the toko. The Moros took the toko with them in a piece of bamboo from the loom they destroyed. But they let the woman go free.

According to the gulang [old people] when the Moro boats were far out to sea there occurred a strong wind and rain. Maybe the Moros were baliw [supernaturally cursed with bad luck] because of the toko. 175* 187 825

This why today the gulang will say to a child who oversleeps: 'My God!, if it were like the old days when the Moros came to our place to make captives, children who overslept would find on awakening they would be sleeping in a Moro boat far out at sea.' The children today reply: 'I don't believe you.'

Founding of Siaton Poblacion

Kalumpang proved to be an unsatisfactory site because of its hilly nature and rocky soil. 175* 166 Capitan Francisco Sugboanon, who had been re-elected in 1827, and the former capitana met, discussed the matter, and brought it to the attention of the people. The barriofolk were divided on the selection of a new site. The people living in Bondo, Canaway, and Inalad wanted the new location to be on their (east) side of the Canaway River. The inhabitants of Mangudkod (who had not migrated to Kalumpang), Lingaton (a sitio of Sandolot), Dolog, Casala-an, Sandolot, Datag, and Mantuyop desired the new community to be located on the Canaway's west bank.

It was finally decided, due to the differences of opinion, to hold a paleo. A paleo was a method of voting, particularly well-suited for illiterate groups. Every individual, young and old, man and woman, had one vote, i.e., one stone. These stones were to be put in a certain spot on a designated day. 175* 623

Finally the Guardia Civil went to Klofre's barrio to arrest him and suppress the meetings. After several clashes in which some of his followers were killed, Klofre decided to surrender to the authorities to halt any further bloodshed. Another account, however, states that he and his father were secretly visiting a nephew in Zamboanguita poblacion, and that Klofre intended to give himself up when he was surprised by the Guardia Civil. In the struggle to capture Klofre, his father was killed. Klofre and his brother-in-law, Valentin Tubigan, nicknamed "Cachila" (i.e., Spaniard because of his long black beard), were able to escape.[94]

Klofre's escape from the Guardia Civil allegedly was due to his supernatural powers and his anting-anting (amulet). At first the two men established their residence at Sitio Abolay (Aboli), west of Barrio Olambid in the northern part of Siaton municipality.[95] Later they

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[94] Ruiz also states his full name was Valentin Tubigan or "Cachila." Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150. One informant said Klofre was visiting his father's residence in Zamboanguita with no intention of surrendering. While there his dagger began "to bleed." Klofre's father believed this to be a bad omen and urged his son to leave before the Guardia Civil learned he was in the poblacion. Klofre refused and later the soldiers surrounded his father's residence, tied him to a chair and bayoneted his father to death before Klofre's eyes. Because of his supernatural powers, Klofre and Valentin were able to escape.

[95] The former capitan of Zamboanguita (whom I interviewed, when he was eleven years old, claims he actually saw an example of Klofre's magical powers. While at a house with Klofre, the latter requested a glass of water. The water did not arrive quickly and Klofre was quite thirsty, so he knocked a large bamboo, part of the house's structure, and fresh water gushed forth. One day when hungry and without money, Klofre told one of his friends to cut open a squash growing in the field. Inside the squash was found 20 centavos. When his followers were hungry, Klofre is said to have spread his handkerchief on the sea, sailed away, and returned later with plenty of fish.

177

Influences that came from India, either through mainland Southeast Asia (Malaya or Champa) and directly to the Philippines, or indirectly from the southern islands of present-day Indonesia, are still apparent in Caticugan. The importance of astrology to determine the most opportune times for certain activities is typical of the Hinayana Buddhist countries of Burma and Thailand--and also China. Traces of art styles, first originating in India, can be seen in the Garuda-like heads on the bolos of Caticugan.

Beyer believes that the "principal phases" of Neolithic culture reached the Philippines directly from northern and southern China. From this period to the present, Chinese contacts with the Philippines have continued. If there is little visible Chinese content in Caticugan, this also is typical of the Philippines as a whole. Kroeber writes: "There is scarcely an institution, piece of knowledge, or religious belief current in the Philippines that can be derived with certainty from China."[174] The Chinese were rarely interested in meddling or interfering with Filipino ways of living; they came as merchants and their impact was largely economic.[175]

This is not to imply that the Chinese did not influence Philippine culture. Manuel documents the words

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[174]Kroeber, op. cit., p. 17.

[175]H. Otley Beyer, "Early History of Philippine Relations with Foreign Countries, Especially China" in Arsenio E. Manuel, Chinese Elements in the Tagalog Language. Manila, Filipiniana Publications, 1948, p. xvi.

spirits when he makes his palio. Usually he requests that the spirits punish any individual who tries to secretly interfere with the palio. The palio is performed by a man, but not necessarily by a specialist. 241 [462] [463]

Oracion reports similar practices among the Magahats of Tolong in order to determine whether the spirits approve of a new caingin. In the proposed caingin site the Magahats place a pole and put at the top a small vine roll. The roll of vines is said to symbolize a crown and the stick the diwa (unseen spirits).[11] The cultivator returns home and his dreams for the next three days are interpreted as favorable or unfavorable signs. For example, if he dreams of sickness or death this is a bad omen and the caingin area is abandoned. Normally, however, the cultivators dreams are said to be favorable.[12] 241 787

Dream interpretation for selection of a caingin site appears to be more important among the Magahats than in Siaton. The writer did not inquire specifically whether dreams were used as omens in the selection of a caingin but the palio would seem to make dreams superfluous. The

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[11] Diwa was the name for idols in pre-Hispanic Philippines. "Others...reverenced most ugly idols made of stone or wood, which they called divatas." Luis de Jesus, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XXI, p. 203. Cateugan barrio-folk use diwata today as a synonym for "superstition" and as the name for a rite connected with the fish corral. [778]

[12] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 46-7.

methods of selecting a new caingin and a new house site are quite similar; this is understandable since the purpose is to determine the wishes of the spirits that inhabit the spot. (See Chapter VIII.)

241
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Clearing the Caingin

241

The clearing to be cultivated is cut during the dry season. First the vines, grasses and small trees are slashed--a process called ganas. The larger trees are then cut with axes or bolos and the biggest trees are cut last. This is to permit the grass and undergrowth to dry before the larger trees are felled. After the larger trees are cut--usually only girdled--the limbs are trimmed so the trunks will lie flat and burn better. This process is called gasap.

After the debris is dry, the clearing is fired. The general period of burning caingins in southern Negros is from February to May, although most of the caingins are fired in April or May. The extent of caingin agriculture in Siaton is difficult accurately to determine. In 1950 the Municipal Agriculture Agent of Siaton estimated there were 296 acres of upland rice planted in the municipality. One can see caingins on both sides of the Siaton River valley. Since few trips were made among the hills beyond the valley the extent of caingin agriculture in this area is not known. During the burning season, however, there were no spectacular night fires or smoke palls over the mountains to the north to indicate widespread caingin firing.

226
136

As you will note, the mixture of species under two of the common names are mixtures of what we understand as biological species in the same genus; in other words, the people, in identifying these snails by common names, are pretty closely following the lines of their biological relationships. In the case of the 'Bokgay', the two species of Neritina are very closely related. Again, in the case of the snails called 'Soso', the four species mixed thereunder are very closely related.[2]

The most common snails in the Siaton River, and therefore those most frequently gathered, are the Red-Mouth Ungka, Kapia and Tibo-Tibo. The other less abundant types are collected when available. While most barriofolk insisted that Soso and Igalao were the same snail with different names, others said they were different--that the Soso was larger, blacker and had a different coloration around the orifice than the Igalao. The White-Mouth Ungka (Bokgay) was reported to be "most plentiful ~~when there are many stars~~ in the sky." Bokgay snails, rarely found in the vicinity of Caticugan, are more common in the Siaton River beyond Sandolot and Balanan, and "in mountain streams." Bong-Bong are uncommon in the river near Caticugan and disappear north of Sitio Lantoc. One resident of Datag said when Bong-Bong are found in the Siaton River near his barrio it was a sign of a coming flood. [87]

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[2]Personal communication to the writer from Dr. Morrison, August 6, 1951. Identification of these snails and other aquatic life was made possible through the courtesy of Dr. Morrison and Dr. Harold A. Rehder, Curator, Division of Mollusks, Smithsonian Institution.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

ASSOCIATED PRACTICES: When to Begin House Construction

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Construction of a Caticugan barrio dwelling involves various associated practices. Certain months are considered best to start building of a new house, for various practices concerned with building methods, and for numerous ceremonies appropriate after the house is completed.

For advice on when to begin construction of a house most barriofolk consult a small astrology booklet, Napta Lunario.[17] (No one knew what Napta meant; Lunario was translated as "something to do with the moon.") The subtitle of this booklet states that it is:

> The true story of the fate of all people. With the stars that go together at the time you were born, the day that is good for planting, to build a house, buying, making love, or getting married, etc. What is the significance of nights with no moon, etc.

However, the role of astrology in the life of the people in Caticugan is not as prominent as in mainland southeast Asia--Burma and Thailand--where hardly a decision is reached that is not influenced by astrological readings.

In fact, the Napta does not seem to be widely used by the barriofolk except for practices connected with house construction. I never heard of anyone consulting the book to determine when to plant fields, make love or get married; all Napta references were made when information was collected for this chapter. Not everyone has

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[17] Primo J. Alvez. Napta Lunario, Cebu City, Bacalso Press, Basak, Pardo, 1938.

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a copy of the book; they consult one owned by a friend or neighbor. One illiterate informant had his daughter read a friend's Napta to determine when he should start the building of a new dwelling. Much of the information probably has become part of the people's folklore.

According to Napta unfavorable months to start building a new house are February, March, Apri, August, and December. According to Napta, if a house is started in these months its future occupants will be visited by serious illness, death, thunder, or lightning, and the owner will not be prosperous or happy. December is considered worst; this was the month that "King Herode of Judea ordered the beheading of the children." A house built during favorable months, June, July, September, October and November, is blessed by God, the occupants will prosper and have no misunderstandings with their neighbors. Some people state that months containing an R are favorable for beginning the construction of a new house.[18]

Barriofolk do not agree perfectly as to good and bad months. For example, Napta states that April is a bad month but some people said it was a good month. The belief that the months which contain an R are favorable conflicts with the recommendations of Napta that are more widely accepted. September, the peak of the rainy season, is considered by most people to be one of the

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[18] Enero, Pibrero, Marso, Abril, Septiyembri, Octubri, Obiyembri and Disyembri are months with an R in Cebuano; Maro, Hunyo, Hulyo, and Agosto lack an R.

best months in the year to begin a new dwelling; then it is easier to dig the deep post holes, and follows the first corn harvest, a period of less activity. Whether these factors really are involved is not known; none of the people cited them as reasons for selecting September. 335 777 787.

The important requirement is to start construction of the house during a favorable month; building activities can continue during unfavorable months. One man, working on a new house in August, was questioned if this were wise since the month is unfavorable according to Hapta. He replied that it was all right for he had raised the house posts in June--a favorable month.[19]

The construction of a barrio dwelling rarely continues without a break until the house is finished. Building activities often extend over a period of months. Posts may be erected and nothing done for a month until the family is able to buy or prepare materials for the framework and walls. Sometimes only the roof and kitchen walls are finished; one family was living in such a house in Talo-ot. In the poblacion another family began to purchase house posts and timber for a residence two years before actual construction began. Several Catiougan families lived in semi-completed dwellings for months. Often the kitchen is added long after the completion of the one-room dwelling; until then cooking is done under the house. 335 461 342

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[19] One poblacion informant, a member of the principalia, said it was all right to begin construction of a house during June but if one did his children would grow up selfish. He also told how he once warned a Chinese merchant in the poblacion not to begin his house during an unfavorable month; the warning was not heeded and a few weeks after the house was completed it burned to the ground. The Chinese had fallen asleep while smoking; his opium pipe fell from his mouth and started the fire.

SELECTION OF A HOUSE SITE

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The same animistic concept that underlies saingin selection applies to selection of a house site. One must determine if the spirits approve or disapprove of the chosen location. The balisa is the most widespread method of selecting a house site in Caticugan; one might say that it kills two birds with one stone.

342
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To measure the correct distance between the four post holes (there may be more posts) four equal lengths of bamboo are prepared; a small hole is made in each end of each bamboo stick. The sticks are then arranged in a square on the ground and small pegs are driven through the holes, holding the square to the earth. Diagonals are then measured from northeast to southwest and southeast to northwest; if these diagonals are the same length this is deemed a favorable sign from the spirits. However, if the spirits object to a dwelling on that spot, no matter how carefully the bamboo square is made the diagonals will never be equal. The site is usually abandoned or the process repeated until a favorable response is obtained. The balisa has a practical aspect for if the diagonals are equal then the bamboo square has located the four post holes.

One Naga informant explained how he selected his house site in 1950. Questions in () I asked during the interview.

342
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I got a stick six feet long and split it into two pieces. I placed one part in the place where I wanted to build the house and said to myself: [loud enough so the spirits could hear] 'I will put this stick here and I have another stick of the same length that I shall sleep with tonight. I shall measure the two sticks tomorrow; if they are of the same length I will build my house here. If not, I shall look for another place. So while I sleep tonight you [the spirits] let me dream if you want me to build my house here or not.' When I went to sleep that night I slept with the stick. The next morning I measured the two sticks; and they were the same length so I built my house here.

342
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I also buried a green coconut, one that when you shake it you cannot hear the water inside. I let it stay in the ground all night and the next morning I dug it up. I shook it but I could not hear the water. According to the old people, all omens were good. If I had heard the water when I shook the coconut the old men say the site would be a hot one. (What do you mean by 'hot'?) I do not know what they mean by hot; I just follow what the old people say. (Did you have a dream the night you slept with the stick?) No, that is why I decided to build my house here.

~~Other people said the coconut remains buried for one week.~~

Often the balisa may be accompanied by other practices to determine whether the spirits object. One family, two days after holding a favorable balisa, put a small cross in what would be the center between the four post holes of the proposed house. A loop of sig-id vine (rattan is also used) about 6 feet long was put on one arm of the cross. The next morning the vine was measured and it was found to be the same length. This was interpreted as an omen that the spirits approved of the site. If the vine had been shorter or longer than 6 feet this would have been an unfavorable sign from the spirits. An almost identical method of selecting new house sites exists among the Magahats. A cross is put in the site and a vine hung

342
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on it; two days later the owner returns. If he is able to separate the vine, without a break, in two parts the site is a favorable one.[20]

Another method of selecting a house site is to mark a square on the ground on the proposed site. A cross and as many stones as there are members in the family are put inside this square. If some of the stones are missing the next morning this is an unfavorable omen. One family in Talo-ot repeated this method three times until finally the same number of stones were at the base of the cross as were put there the evening before. The spirits appear to be amenable to persistence and doggedness on the part of humans.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE DWELLING

332
412

The first step in the actual construction of a new dwelling is to dig the post holes. A blunt iron-pointed digging stick (gabok) is used to loosen the dirt that is scooped out of the hole with one's hands or a coconut shell. When the hole becomes so deep that it is difficult to reach the bottom the songsong is employed. The songsong is a sturdy bamboo whose end is split in many places; when pounded into the loose dirt these ends flare outward and the earth is packed inside. The songsong is then withdrawn from the hole and the dirt shaken out.

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[20] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 21-2. The same method of locating the four post holes, as described by the balisa, is also used by the Magahats; however, it does not appear to have any supernatural purpose.